ON CERTAIN DRAWINGS OF PONTORMO

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FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP

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Pontormo's activity extended from about 1511 to 1557. When he began his apprenticeship many masterpieces of the Florentine school were still unpainted; before his death Bronzino had decorated the Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio, and the day was not far off when such work as Vasari's Sala dei Cinquecento was not only possible but praised. He lived through the most astonishing and kaleidoscopic fifty years in the history of art.

His talent was not unworthy of his generation. Gifted with a feeling for line inferior only to Leonardo's and Michelangelo's, he also possessed at moments, in a measure surpassing all his contemporaries, the decorative instinct, — a rare intuition for flat color and equilibrium of masses. The lunette at Poggio a Cajano has with reason been called « the most appropriate mural decoration now remaining in Italy » (1), and the Deposition of. S. Felicità is perhaps the rarest, the most dream-like rendering we possess of that difficult subject. No naturalism disturbs, no symbolism enfeebles it. These, however, are high points. The tale of how they were attainable only twice or thrice (2) in so

(1) Berenson, *Florentine Painters, p. 81.*

(2) Throughout his career Pontormo's achievement as a portraitist was of a high, sometimes of the highest, order.

long an activity is a record ot misadventure and of strangest psychology.

An artist by temperament, not merely by métier, Pontormo was over-sensitive and humble in spite of his intellectuality. To be effective his creative intuition needed a rarely attainable harmony between himself and his environment. He could not force his vision upon others as Michelangelo did. He was too many-sided to create a canon. There was in him no ebullition of conscious strength. Had there been, the story of late Tuscan art, given even the presence of Michelangelo in Florence, might have been quite different and less dreary. A moment now and then of freedom and fine accomplishment, — fugitive glimpses of the man's real possibilities, — these we have. For the rest he is lessened by a spell. His genius was of too delicate a balance not to endure almost continuous although various captivity.

To take clear count, however, of the influences that played upon him and swayed his temperament, it is not to his paintings but to his drawings that we must turn. They are of great diversity. Beginning with a vision almost Andrea's own, though freed of humdrum slavery to the model, Jacopo gained skill with striking rapidity. Before 1520 he had created some of the real masterpieces of Renaissance draughtsmanship, — sheets of rare observation, schematic abstraction and promptitude of hand.

Vasari records the tradition of Pontormo's earliest masters, — Albertinelli, Pier di Cosimo, Leonardo, Andrea. In his personality, however, the habits of Albertinelli's bottega seem to have struck no deep root, although the hooked line of the older master, — a certain curved stroke broader at one end than at the other, marks two designs for Medici arms (Uff. 417 and 418) that probably date from 1513. (1) They are neither of them for the Arch

(1) Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters, vol. II, p. 137.*

of the Servites in its final form at least (1), but one (417) may preserve for us an idea of a decoration Jacopo made for his native town (2). The persistance of traditions that Albertinelli's workshop stood for is much more visible in the composition of the Madonna and Saints in the Cappella di S. Luca (1514). We might expect the drawings for that fresco to tell a similar tale. Fortunately we have one indubitably made in preparation for it, although its relation to the picture has not hitherto been noticed. It is a fine red chalk study (Dresden, Woermann 200) for the saint who kneels in the foreground at the Madonna's feet. The touch reveals a loose, rather angular, variant on that form of Andrea's draughtsmanship which has come down to us in studies for the S. Gallo and S. Godenzo Annunciations. (3) It is however more brilliant, less sheepishly a transcript of fact. There exists besides a study for the Virgin (Uff. 6676 verso) (4). No more interesting commentary could be found on the formation of Pontormo's manner. In structure and proportion, the figure in this sketch is distinctly Michelangelesque. The line on the other hand is much less vital than in the Dresden sheet, and we surprise the effort with which Pontormo felt his way. (5)

For the decoration of the Pope's Chapel, S. Maria Novella, (1513) we have perhaps a drawing (Uff. 6542 verso) for the angel

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(1) Uff. 6706 (Putto clinging to branch), may be for Arch of Servites, although in the ruined fresco no such figure is now visible. But cf. Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze, 1591, p. 416.*

(2) Vasari, Ed., *Milanesi, VI, p. 250.*

(3) Pitti, 97 and 124. Vasari tells us that Pontormo had a hand in the predella of the S. Gallo picture. *Vol. VI, p. 247.*

(4) Its connection with the fresco has hitherto been unnoticed.

(5) In addition to these there is the fine sheet Cor. 124229, — an arrangement of Madonna and Child identical with the S. Luca picture, a St. Joseph that greatly resembles the St. Joseph of the Visdomini, and two saints that recall the St Francis and the St. James of the latter altar-piece. It was perhaps done in preparation for the Visdomini and records an earlier idea for the composition though hitherto unidentified with that picture.

to the left of S. Veronica. It is as chunky in proportions as Andrea's early work, but the hair, as in the fresco, is blown out in the way Leonardo loved. Something also of Leonardo's firelike contours remains in such other drawings of the years immediately following as. Uff. 6645 and 6677, verso; something of the nature of his vision is traceable still in the prophetic movement, the turn and modelling of the infants' heads, the mysterious light and shade of the Visdomini altarpiece and the picture in the possession of the Marchese Farinola. So too, under a surface influence of Andrea, one may recognise Piero in the trailing robes, the little doll-like figures, the long oval faces in the fresco of the Hospital of S. Matteo (1), or still later in the Return of Joseph (2) or in the studies that seem to have been made for the Adoration of the Magi now in the Pitti.

Berenson has pointed out eight drawings certainly for the Visdomini altar-piece and five that may reasonably be connected with it. To these several drawings may be added. Corsini 124232 and 124244, and Uff. 7452 (hitherto ascribed to Naldini) are undoubtedly for the little St. John. They reveal Pontormo in the flowering of his mastery as a draughtsman. They are swift, firm, immediate. But far beyond even these in quality is such a sheet as Uff. 6669 recto and verso probably also drawn in connection with this picture (3). In these sketches he achieves a spontaneous registry of vision, a transcript of the essential perhaps not less magical than Leonardo's own. Of nearly the same date, for the lost lunette at S. Cecilia in Fiesole, there is the angular drawing Uff. 6694, noted by Berenson. For the same work the Corsini possesses a beautiful finished study not hitherto related to the perished fresco (Cor. 124161) (4).

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(1) Academy, Florence.

(2) London, 1131.

(3) Berenson, *Drawings, Vol. I, p. 314 note.*

(4) Vasari, *VI, p. 257* « sopra la porta della Compagnia della Cecilia, una Santa Cecilia colorita in fresco con alcune rose in mano.... »

The really important influences of these early years were undoubtedly the workshop of Andrea and Michelangelo's Cartoon for the Battle of Pisa. In the Visitation of SS. Annunziata Andrea is ohviously predominant. There are not only figures, such as the woman in the background left, which are derived directly from Andrea's Birth of the Virgin (1514), but the coloring and structural accent betray his overwhelming influence. The drawings for this fresco have also a measure of his spirit. Uff. 6603 is a finished study from the nude for the woman seated sideways on the steps left (1), and Uff. 6542 is a study from the male nude for the putto on the steps right (2). In both the shading is of a hairy quality that recalls Andrea. Bolder is the sheet (Uff. 6556) that contains a rapid first jotting for the saint with a book to the extreme right (3).

The interest the young Pontormo took in Michelangelo's Cartoon is visible in a number of drawings which display a use of red chalk still reminiscent of Andrea and are yet inspired by a deepening understanding of the meaning of Michelangelo's canon. Unhappily for Jacopo he understood only too well! (4). The Sixtine Ceiling, or more probably drawings now lost made by Michelangelo in preparation for it, was evidently before his mind much less constantly (5). He had not freed himself from either, however, when he began work on the Lunette at Poggio.

The preparation Pontormo made for this fresco was immense. The number of surviving drawings related to it is greater than for any other undertaking of the master. Besides those pointed

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(1) By Berenson for Poggio. *Drawings, Vol. II, p. 146.*

(2) By Berenson also for Poggio. *Idem, p. 143.*

(3) On this sheet Berenson only notes a study for the hand of the woman with a staff to the extreme left and drapery for the girl who carries a bundle on her head.

(4) See appended list. They were much in his mind while he was at work on a lost early Pietà, the probable existence of which Berenson has noted.

(5) See appended list.

out by Berenson (1), we have other interesting sheets that enable us to watch quite intimately the development of the idea of parapets and the distribution of figures. Uff. 6437 verso (2) shows us a cast of drapery evidently thrown over the knees of a figure seated on a parapet with the legs to the left and bent back at the knees, as if she had just climbed on to the wall. It indicates the nature of Pontormo's first thought for the shepherdess to the right on the right upper parapet. But the expanse of bare wall beneath was not decorative, and he tried the arrangement that tho recto of the same sheet reveals. It is a remarkable study for drapery, from the waist down, of a figure facing left astride of a parapet. The skirt sweeps along the left leg and is bunched up in front and behind the hips. Clearly this must have been intended for the same shepherdess (3). This pose too, however, had its difficulties, — an awkward piling up of drapery before and behind the figure. But Pontormo thought well enough of it to do a fine study from the nude in the same pose (Uff. 6557), which without Uff. 6437 recto we should have been at a loss to identify with any figure in the fresco. Uff. 6519 verso is a little sketch for the same drapery before it took the final form of Uff. 6731 recto. Uff. 6662 verso (4) is a study for the same shepherdess seated as in the fresco, but with the position of the arms and legs reversed (5). Corsini 124243 verso is Pontormo's first thought for the same figure in the finally chosen pose, and the verso of Uff. 6728 is a sketch for her right leg precisely as

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(1) Berenson gives eleven as practically identical with the fresco; fifteen as definately connected with it; twenty eight as of that date.

(2) Relation to fresco hitherto unnoted.

(3) The touch is identical with Uff. 6731.

(4) The recto is a study for the angel extreme right of the Visdomini altar-piece.

(5) By Berenson given as for an earlier form of Visdomini. *Drawings, Vol. II, p. 149.*

it is in the finished work. Uff. 6547 is for her head, while Corsini 124240 is a spirited study for the putto to the right above the bull's-eye. The connection of Uff. 6557 with Uff. 6437 enables us further to identify the larger figure of Uff. 6557 as a first thought for the shepherdess to the left on the lower right parapet. We have besides a finished study for the head of the peasant seated on the lower parapet to the extreme left (Uff. 6579). For the arm and hand of the youth seated to his right, Uff. 6559 is likewise a finished study, and for the legs of the putti above the window, Uff. 6559 verso may have served (1).

The drawings for Visdomini and Poggio represent the bulk of Pontormo's best accomplishment as a draughtsman (2). During the years devoted to the latter undertaking (1518-1521) his decorative instinct was no longer submerged by a predominant influence of Andrea. In the studies for Poggio he attains that abstractly essential quality, that effortless clarity which was unrevealed to Andrea's pedestrian mind; in the fresco his emphasis falls naturally upon the decorative principle in things in a way quite unique in that age of naturalism and the final triumph of representation. That fact and his restless openness of mind make him the most modern of the old masters. Moreover, in the decade of 1520 to 1530, at a moment when the color of his contemporaries was growing increasingly insistent, he instinctively kept his surfaces flat, his color light and the whole unified by carrying through the entire composition a few principle tones (3). In the values and color of Poggio he is, as it were, a sonnambulistic forerunner of Puvis de Chavannes.

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(1) None of these hitherto idenified with this fresco.

(2) Some later portrait studies are equally fine in their way.

(3) Vasari noted this tendency but not in connection with Poggio; *Vol. VI, p. 271.* « Ma non seguitò il medesimo nel fare la tavola (Deposition, S. Felicità); perciocchè, pensando a nuove cose la condusse senz'ombre e con un colorito chiaro e tanto unito, che appena si conosce i lumi dal mezzo ed il mezzo dagli scuri. »

Unhappily that phase was not of unbroken duration. He had not, during all his formative years, made so deep a study of the Cartoon of the Battle of Pisa (1) without leaving on his vision more than a trace of other ideals. It was inevitable that the magnetism of Michelangelo's superabundant creativeness, his unruly emphasis, his turbulent mastery should cross Pontormo with lingering insistence, — inevitable too that the latter's rare and unconscious personal vision should begin to be clouded. We may ask ourselves how far he was aware of his peril. To have succeeded in putting from him the terre à terre touch of Andrea was one thing, though in the struggle he had leaned on the more dangerous stimulus of Michelangelo's early work. It was quite another thing to swim in the greater whirlpool of that master's later manner. Had Pontormo understood his own possibilities he might have found out how to trust his own strength. But the moment was an adverse one, and his very power grew out of an extreme sensibility. We are witnesses of the spectacle of an artist at the height of his activity trying to escape from the tyranny of Michelangelo by flying to Dürer. This choice, the strangest an Italian ever made, was in part chance, — the arrival in Florence of Dürer's Kleine Passion, — in part it was the example in such imitation given by Andrea in the Scalzo frescoes (2), — in part it was the craving of an instinct. If Dürer's designs were not entirely novel, there was in them an intense religiosity, a metaphysical quality that Pontormo was born to understand. Of how far he struggled to understand, to re-see the world with Northern eyes, while at the same time the mightier rhythms of the great Florentine were still beating in his brain, such a sheet as Uff.

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(1) Vasari, *VII, p. 161.*

(2) With the Preaching of John cf. a figure in Dürer's Die Schaustellung, 1512; with the Decapitation of John, Dürer's Die Enthauptung Johannes, 1510; with Salome receiving the head of John, the wood-cut of the same subject, 1511.

6702 verso is a curious witness (1). For a moment he served two masters. But he was not the man to stand at crossroads. He was an absolutist even in his endeavor to put on a new skin. Andrea was content to eke out his unimaginativeness with fragments of Dürer's invention. But were the drawings for Certosa more numerous we might see what Uff. 6648 leads us to suspect: Pontormo came at moments to draw with the awkward fragmentary stress and jerky pulse of an early Dürer wood-cut (2).

The frescoes themselves have the torn silhouette and jumbled rhythm of the Kleine Passion (3), but the copies by Jacopo da

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(1) This sheet contains: a study for a Dead Christ for the Deposition at Certosa, taken except for the position of the left arm and head, from Dürer's Die Beweinung Christi, 1510-1511; a study for the woman seated extreme right of the same fresco; an almost exact copy of the Haman of the Sixtine Ceiling. Cf. 6722 verso.

(2) Perhaps the reason so few drawings for Certosa have come down to us is that his « maniera tedesca » was not appreciated by Italian collectors.

(3) Apart from general considerations of style and composition, Pontormo took certain figures or arrangements of figures at Certosa directly from Dürer. These are:

In Carrying of the Cross; S. Veronica from Die Kreuztragung, 1512; the man with a ladder on his head from Die Kreuztragung, 1509; the figure striking Christ, idem; the women on the hill from Die Kreuzigung 1509-11; the old man on horseback extreme right from Christus vor Hannas, 1509-11 and others.

In Deposition; Madonna from Christus am Kreuz, 1508; Magdalen, from from Die Beweinung Christi, 1509-11; Madonna's head and head of woman seated to her right, from Die Grablegung, 1509-11; the woman seated extreme right may have been suggested by the Madonna in Christus am Kreuz, 1498; the old man seated left is of the type of the old man in Die Kreuzabnahme, 1509-11.

In Christ before Pilate; the soldiers in front from Die Badstube, c. 1496; Pilate may have been suggested by the king in Die Marter des Evangelisten Johannes, 1498.

In the Agony in the Garden; the composition is practically identical with Christus am Oelberg, 1509-11.

In the Resurrection; figure of soldier extreme left from Die Auferstehung, 1509-11; figure of soldier right from Die Auferstehung, 1510; the Christ from Die Auferstehung (directly), 1510.

Empoli, preserved in the Palazzo Vecchio, show that like Poggio they were painted with light harmonies on a few tones carried though the whole scheme. There can be no doubt that they were extremely decorative. Even now, ruined and repainted as they are, they sing out in the sunshine as few Italian frescoes after the Trecento do. And they have a soft vivacity, an unforced gravity, that no merely Transalpine work could have.

For the Supper at Emmaus (1) (2), painted for the Foresteria of Certosa and now in the Academy, we have in Uff. 6656 verso (3) a fine study for the monk to the right. This is an extremely precious document from which we can draw conclusions of a definate sort concerning the quality of Pontormo's draughtsmanship after what was considered by his contemporaries a debauch in imitation of an inferior style. The figure is in red chalk, simple, adequate and of an unnaffected lucidity of vision.

Perhaps the most interesting drawing of this period is Uff. 6622 (4), an elaboration of Dürer's Kreuzabnahme of 1509-1511. It is of a flower-like delicacy and althogether lovely. The tide turned however. Jacopo's friends found his Dürerizing an aberration, and he himself soon passed beyond that phase (5). In the last drawing (Uff. 6671) that he made for his work in the Val d'Ema, a study for a Nailing to the Cross, (6) we see him in full career towards the complexity of composition, the crowded two level arrangement of figures dear to the late Cinquecentist which in the end conspired with Michelangelo's cult of the gigantic and the forceful to choke out the last embers

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(1) Composition directly from Christus und die Jünger von Emmaus, 1509-11.

(2) On Milanesi's authority hitherto given as of 1528; really of 1525 as signed on cartella.

(3) Not before noted in relation to this picture. Cf. Vasari, *VI, p. 270.*

(4) Berenson derives it from Andrea's Pitti Deposition (1525), but it is perhaps the most Düreresque of all the surviving drawings.

(5) Vasari, *VI, p. 270.*

(6) circa 1525.

of Florentine art. He foresaw the inevitable with his usual logical impulsiveness. This is the more remarkable because the individual figures for this compostion (Uff. 6652 verso, Uff. 6657, Cor. 124161) (1) still have a solidity, a breezy spring that recalls Poggio, and a wiry quality of line that anticipates the best studies for S. Felicità. For the S. Quintino of Borgo S. Sepolcro, which was painted during the latter part of his activity at Certosa, a wonderful head in pen and bistre on a wet ground of black chalk still survives (Uff. 6647) (2).

If Pontormo lost at Certosa the thread of his development, his talent was such that when an equilibrium of his powers once more asserted itself the Deposition of the Capponi Chapel was added to Italian art. Besides the drawings for that masterpiece which Berenson has already noticed, there are five others, — Uff. 6613 verso and Uff. 6730, as well as Corsini 124229 verso, 124230, and 124231, — all for the youth who carries the shoulders of Christ (3). For the squatting youth in foreground who carries the legs of Christ there is a delightfully fresh study, little less firm than the drawings of ten years before, and with something in it still, we are tempted to believe, of Leonardo, — the charming sheet Uff. 6601 verso (3).

Evidently then, what was fatal to Pontormo's natural development as an artist was not his imitation of Dürer, but Michelangelo's return to Florence. That fact changed in Pontormo that receptive attitude towards the creativeness of others which was part of the old Florentine tradition, into downright captivation. He had taken from Leonardo, Andrea, Dürer (4), stimulus and the

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(1) All hitherto unidentified with Uff. 6671.

(2) By Berenson for the Madonna of S. Felicità.

(3) Not before identified with this picture.

(4) In spite of all they owe to Michelangelo's cult of force and the gigantic, the uncompromising penetration of his later portraits — their fidelity to the personality of the sitter-may be referred to a persistent, and in this case a beneficent, influence of Northern ideals.

germ of not a few ideas, his own personality ever expanding and continuing dominant in his work. But from 1530 on we must watch him stagger with an ever-increasing burden of Michelangelo's types and poses, his own intellectual existence breaking up under the weight slowly but surely.

Possibly the Venus and Cupid that Michelangelo designed and Pontormo painted for Bartolomeo Bettini may mark the moment when the malady took an acute turn (1). Certainly thereafter he brooded over other applications for the motive of that picture, rehandling it twice in little sketches (Uff. 444 and 446) which are Michelangelesque only in arrangement, once with a magnificent great freedom beyond even his master's power at that moment (Uff. 6534), and once with huge tight distortion and exaggeration as a sibyl reclining (Uff. 6586).

But the S. Lorenzo tombs and the Cavalieri drawings played the chiefest part in his undoing. The former he now had continually with him ; the latter he must certainly have known and they were too magnificently rich in ideas not to enthrall him. At any rate, sketches of little figures derived from the Medici tombs begin to appear with increasing frequency on the sheets that belong to these years (2). He seems even to have taken up earlier drawings for Dead Christs (Uff. 6689; Uff. 6690) and scribbled below them in minute black chalk, — comments made, as it were, in the spirit of a man dazed by a greater vision, — more twisted and muscular versions that have for parent the « Day » or the « Night ». He tried over and over again to solve the secret of Michelangelo's magic, drawing shape after shape reminiscent of that master's inventions.

From this period of struggle we have several designs, mannered but still delightful. The design for the Three Graces (Uff. 6748) must be from early in the decade of 1530 ; in the pose of

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(1) Vasari, *VI, p.* 277.

(2) A list of these drawings is appended.

one of them there is something still suggestive of the figure to the extreme left of the drawing (1) for the Carmignano Visitation (Uff. 461). From 1533 or 1534 there remains the magnificent but ruined design for Nudes playing at Calcio (Uff. 13861). This is undoubtedly one of the drawing to which Vasari refers as having been made for the second series of decorations at Poggio that were never executed (2). In it the smooth, dry, somewhat negroid-headed nude of the Cavalieri drawings is in full possession of Pontormo's vision. The composition is however splendid, — strange in its equilibrium, spacious and full of movement. By this time Pontormo has finally read himself deep into the meaning of Michelangelo's canon, not only in structure and pose as all his later portraits show us (3), but in movement and spacing. Drawings for single figures in this design are still of considerable vitality in spite of their increasing mannerism (Uff. 6616; Uff. 6738) (4).

Unhappily the decorations for Castello and Careggi have perished; only a few drawings survive that we may, without going wrong, put down as reminiscent of them. The charming sheet Uff. 458 of putti flying with birds was almost certainly drawn for the loggia of Careggi (5), and of the allegorical figures at Castello Uff. 6584 may preserve for us a trace (6).

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(1) The composition of the Carmignano drawing was suggested by Dürer's Die vier nackten Frauen, 1497; the St. Elizabeth is strikingly like Dürer's Nemesis, 1502-1503, reversed.

(2) Vasari, *VI, p. 276.* « ... non si potè mai indurre quest'uomo a fare di quest'opera altro che i cartoni... ed in una carta, una storia d' ignudi che giuocano al calcio. »

(3) Notably the Portrait of a Young Woman, Frankfort, Städelinstitut, 14a, and the Portrait of a Lady, Oldenburg, 19.

(4) Hitherto unrelated to the larger drawing.

(5) Vasari, *VI, p. 281.* « Dopo, fatto il disegno d'alcuni putti che andavano nell'ovato della volta, con diversi animali in mano, che scortano al di sotto in su, gli fece tutti, da uno in fuori colorire dal Bronzino.... »

(6) Vasari, *VI, p. 281.* « Vi fece poi, in certe femminone grandi e quasi tutte ignude, la Filosofia, l'Astrologia, etc.... »

All through the late thirties and the early forties, Pontormo retained, when he faced a definate model, an eye extraordinarily fresh to essential significance. To that time some of his finest portraits belong, such as that of Alessandro dei Medici now in the Johnson collection, Philidelphia (4). To these we should add his numerous portrait drawings chiefly of a lateish date. They range in quality from the graceful fragility of Uff. 447 of the same date as S. Felicità to the sombre simplicity of Uff. 6573, — an old crone in a mantle.

From 1542-1543 has come down to us the Louvrë Altarpiece with its tondo of impressionistic genre paiting, its curiously poised arrangement of figures, the central group of which recalls Leonardo, and the general setting the simple architectonics of Fra Bartolommeo! We might note in passing a close resemblance, perhaps fortuitous, of St. Sebastian to the Sebastian from Dürer's workshop now in the Archbishop's palace at Ober-St Veit bei Wien, and a superficial maintenance, though in an amplified form, of the color and fall of drapery of the Carmignano altar-piece. The drawing for the Louvre picture (Uff. 460) is facile and sure of touch but thin in flavor.

Without in the world of Pontormo's contemporaries the final wave of Michelangelo's influence played greater havoc than it did with him. By 1535 we are in the full flood of Tribolo's and Bandinelli's activity. The old Florentine republican spirit was quite dead, and Florentine opinion on the things of art was fast coalescing into a credo, a scolastic cycle of dry formulas for crea-

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(4) Vasari, *VI, p. 278* « ...ritrasse poi Jacopo il medesimo duca (Alessandro) in un quadro grande, con uno stile in mano disegnando la testa d'una femina : il quale ritratto maggiore donò poi esso duca Alessandro alla signora Taddea Malespina, sorella della marchesa di Massa. » Not, I believe, hitherto identified. Cf. Bronzino' s Portrait of Alessandro, Prof. Thode' s collection, Heidelberg, and Bronzino's other Portrait of the same, Morelli collection 65, Bergamo.

tiveness and appreciation that found a mouthpiece in the Academy and in such men as Varchi. Of how helpless Pontormo was in the face of such a current, of how completely he had lost his insight and personal verve, the letter he wrote, not without a sad, whimsical humor, as part of a symposium of opinion on the arts, is significant (1).

From this phase to the weary revolving in a fixed place, the hopeless ambition and overburdened spirit (2) of the last eleven years is no great step. Beyond lay nothing but the turbid straining after force and compactness, the inert exaggeration of the S. Lorenzo choir. The best that he could accomplish then, in drawing or fresco, was a kind of unearthly symbolism, unconscious and unsought, — a pattern-like arrangement of gigantic, lifeless shapes (3). The only possible fascination these figures can have lies perhaps in a simple human awe of the inscrutable and the prophetic.

The Choir was unfinished and a failure. Although it had in it marvelous bits of modelling, the whole struck his contemporaries as a monstrous muddle. They understood neither its design nor its theology (4). From the interminable, twisted nudes piled one on another of the studies for the Deluge or the Last Judgment (5) that part of the decoration must have been a formidable aberration, whatever might have been said for such designs as the Cain and Abel. And the reasons are simple. Pontormo was of a singleness of nature that sent him down any avenue of vision to its logical conclusion. The Choir of S. Lorenzo

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(1) Varchi, *Due Lezzioni, Fiorenza MDXLIX.*

(2) Cf. Vasari.

(3) Berenson, *Drawings, vol. II, p. 327.*

(4) Vasari, *VI, p. 287.* Borghini, *Riposo, p. 485* (Ia Ed.).

(5) The interrelation of these drawings is of interest. Berenson has already noted the more important. Of somewhat similar quality are numerous drawings hitherto ascribed to Pontormo but really by Bronzino.

and not the Pauline Cbapel was the natural outcome of Michelangelo's Last Judgment. On the other hand, even in these last years, that same uncompromising singleness of spirit put it also in his power to paint such portraits as that of Cosimo Granduca of the Jarves collection at New Haven or that of an Old Lady in Vienna, which, if thin in color, are indefaticably sincere in their research of personality.

Florence, December 1, 1911.

SUMMARY INDEX

of certain drawings related to pictures of Pontormo or to the works of Michelangelo.

Most of the drawings that can be related to known pictures have been pointed out by Berenson. The Catalogue Raisonné of his great work on Florentine drawings is of first importance to all students of Pontormo, just as his fine study of the master's development (Vol. I. of the same work) must continue to be the source of all future appreciation of his art.

In the present list, *no drawing of which Berenson has noticed the use is mentioned*, except in the few cases where a connection different from that given by him has seemed reasonable.

The catalogue numbers of drawings *indubitably* for a given picture are printed in heavy type; of those *probably* for a given picture, in ordinary type; of those *possibly* for a given picture, with a question mark.

When not otherwise noted the drawings are in the Uffizi.

I - **Castello at Pontormo.** 417 (Leo X's arms).

II - **Pope's Chapel,** *S. M. Novella.* 6542 verso (Putto left of S. Veronica).

III - **Cappella di S. Luca.** *Dresden,* **200** (Kneeling saint foreground); 6676 verso (1) (Madonna).

IV - **Arch of Servites.** 6706 (2) (Putto climbing tree).

V - **Visitation,** *SS. Annunziata.* **6542** (3) (Putto on steps

(1) Berenson suggests probably for Poggio.

(2) Bocchi, p. 416.

(3) Berenson for Poggio.

right); **6556** (1) (Drapery saint extreme right); *6556 verso* (1) (Drapery saint background right); **6603** (2) (Woman on steps left).

VI - **S. Michele Visdomini.** 6513 verso? (Madonna's drapery); 6520 verso (Madonna's head); 6556? (Madonna's hand); 6669 recto & verso (3); 6744 verso (Christ Child) (4); **7452** (St. John); 7452 verso (St. James); **Cor. 124232** (St. John); Cor. 124239 (Composition); *Cor. 124244* (St. John).

VII - **S. Cecilia.** (Lunette) **Cor. 124161.**

VIII - **Uffizi 1177, Altar-piece,** 6742 verso (St. Jerome, reversed).

IX - **Drawings derived from Michelangelo's Cartoon** 442*?*; **6543** (5); **6543 verso**; **6594** (6); **6594 verso** (6); **6677 verso**; **6740 verso**; Cor. 124228?; 124237?; 124238?; 124239?; 124246?; 124250?.

X - **Drawings derived from the Sixtine Ceiling. 465** (cf. Creation of Eve); **6702 verso**; **6726**; **6726 verso** (Haman and figure left Jeremiah); **6740** (Figure right Ezekiel); **6595** (Figure left Delphic Sibyl); **6742** (idem); 6596; 6598 (Cf. Michelangelo's drawing for Ceiling: Frey 122); 6634 (Jonah).

XI - **Poggio a Cajano.** 6437 (Drapery figure right upper right parapet); 6437 verso (idem); 6513? (Movement of head same as figure right lower left parapet); **6519 verso** (Drapery figure right upper right parapet); 6529 (idem); 6529 verso? (idem); **6547** (Head of figure right upper right parapet); 6557 (7) (Figure left lower right parapet & figure right upper right parapet); **6559** (Arm

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(1) Berenson notes connection with Visitation but not with these figures.

(2) Berenson for Poggio.

(3) Berenson for Visitation (Vol. II, p. 159). Cf. Vol. I, p. 314 note.

(4) Berenson for St John.

(5) Berenson for Poggio.

(6) Idem.

(7) Berenson says probably for Poggio but does not suggest for which figures.

figure right lower left parapet); **6559 verso** (Legs right and left putti over bull's-eyé); **6579** (Head of peasant); 6662 verso (Figure right upper right parapet); **6728** Leg figure right upper right parapet); 6742 verso (Outlines of lunette); 8976 (1) (Boy left upper right parapet); 8976 verso (1) (idem); **Cor. 124240** (Putto right above bull's-eye); **Cor. 124243 verso** (Figure right upper right parapet).

XII - **Certosa.** 6529 (Figure carrying end of Cross); 6529 verso (Executioner in same composition); 6558 ? (Draped heads); **6614 verso** (Dead Christ); **6622** (Pietà); **6643 verso** (Figure carrying end of Cross); **6702 verso** (Deposition); **Cor. 124235 verso** (Thief in Bearing Cross).

XIII - **Unexecuted Certosa. 6652 verso** (Righthand figure of 6671); **6657** (2) (Figure lefthand of 6671); **6671** (3) (Composition); **Cor. 124161** (Figure left of 6671).

XIV - **Christ at Emmaus. 6656 verso** (Monk background right).

XV - **S. Quintino,** Borgo S. Sepolcro. **6647 verso** (4) (Head of S. Quintino).

XVI - **Pitti adoration of the Magi.** (5) 6516 verso ? (Draped figure); 6518 (6) (Horseman background); 6722 (6) (Horseman background); 6722 verso (Horseman).

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(1) Discovered and kindly pointed out to me by signor Di Pietro. Formerly attributed Coreggio.

(2) Berenson thinks probably an executioner in a Judgment of Solomon.

(3) Berenson recognises that 447, 6665 and 6671 go together, but does not attribute them to Certosa.

(4) Berenson gives as Madonna's head, S. Felicità altar-piece.

(5) A related picture of Knight and Sibyl seems to have existed of which 6675 preserves composition and 6516 the figure in foreground. Berenson refers 6675 to the time of S. Maurizio. It might be noted that the horses of S. Maurizio distinctly recall Leonardo, not so the ones in question.

(6) Berenson gives these to S. Maurizio.

XVII - **Influence of S. Lorenzo Tombs**. 6584 cf. 6583; 6588 verso; 6689; 6690; **6607**; **6724**; 6760; **17411**.

XVIII - **S. Felicità Altar-piece**. 6519 ? (Madonna); **6527** (Legs Christ); 6536 ?; **6601 verso** (Figure foreground carrying Christ); **6613 verso** (Boy carrying Christ' s shoulders); **6666** (Madonna' s head); 6695 ? (Woman with head thrown back); 6717 ? (For an earlier version of the Christ' s head); **6730** (Legs of boy carrying Christ' s shoulders); 6735 ? (For the woman whose head shows over Christ' s shoulder).

XIX - **S. Felicità Annunciation**. 6570 ? (1) (Madonna); 6570 verso (Shoulders and back of angel).

XX - **Martyrdom of Forty Saints**. Cor. 124236 ? (One of the Baptised).

XXI - **Composition for Three Graces Uff. 6748. 6620** (Middle Grace of 6748); 6747 ? (idem).

XXII - **Design for Game of Calcio Uff. 13861. 13861** (Composition); 6505 ?; 6593 ? (Figure background left); **6616** (Figure extreme left of 13861) 6616 verso (figure background right); 6631 ?; **6738** (Two figures left of. 13861).

XXIII - **Careggi**. 458 (Putti); 15662 ? (Putto).

XXIV - **Castello**. 6510 (2) (Saturn); 6584 (Female nude).

XXV - **S. Lorenzo Choir**. 6508 verso (Shoulders of God in 6508); **6515** (Tilling of the Soil); **6535** (idem); *6567* cf. 6560; 6580 cf. 6745; 6582 cf. 6749; 6636 cf. 6753; 6637 cf. 6640 verso; 6640; *6640* verso; 6650 cf. 6754; 6700 ? cf. 6709 ?; 6710 ?; 6711 ?; 6734 ?; **6746** (Cain in 6739); 6759 cf. upper part of 17410 ;. 6760 cf. 17410 figure extreme left; **15665** (First sketch for Abel in 6739).

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(1) Berenson refers this to the time of the Louvre altar-piece. It seem more probably another study for the Madonna of the Annunciation of S. Felicità and the quality bears this out.

(2) « ..nel mezzo della volta un Saturno col segno del Capricorno.. » Vasari, *VI, p. 283*. Berenson gives it as probably for S. Lorenzo.

XXVI - **Drawings derived from other works of Michelangelo.** 6506 verso (Recalls David with changed movement of head and arm); 6652 (Cf. sketch for bronze David, Casa Buonarroti); 6703 (Cf. Bacchus, Bargello, of which the drawing is a languid variant).

XXVII - **Drawings by Bronzino formerly attributed to Pontormo.** **6639** (For Christ Child, Holy Eamily, Pitti 39); **6704** (Man with bundle on his head in the Passage of the Red Sea, Chapel of Eleonora, Palazzo Vecchio).

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